THE WORKERS'
DREADNOUGHT

Socialism, Internationalism, Votes for All.

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DANGERS OF MUNITION WORK

How many people realise the hideous dangers to which women and girl munition workers are subjected.

A woman who was employed for several months at Vickers' munition factory, Dartford, gives us a terribly suggestive outline of her experiences and impressions. She explains that much of the work is hard as well as dangerous. Women and girls, some not more than 14 years of age, are carrying, cleaning and painting cartridges weighing up to 20 lbs. and lifting and arranging weighty boxes and trays of cartridges. They are performing operations which used to be thought heavy for strong men, and at one time they laboured from six a.m. to eight p.m., though the hours have been shortened now.

Explosions are of frequent occurrence. Young girls, ignorant of the enormous risks they are running, are employed on piece-work, incited by this method of payment they hurry with their work, though every hasty movement increases the risk.

Work on the turnover primers entails a two-fold risk. The worker who desires to hasten steadies the instrument with her fingers, and "many fingers are left behind." The greater risk is that of explosion. About a year ago there was a big explosion, in which several were killed and several injured. The engineers then suggested a protecting apparatus which would enclose the entire machine, leaving open only a hole, through which the worker could put her hand to insert the powder, withdrawing her hand before proceeding to the next operation, and an opening at the top through which the gases could escape in case of an explosion. Our informant believes that this form of protection would largely have prevented the present risks, but it was not agreed to, and a cheaper and simpler form of protection was installed, which has only slightly minimised the risks.

Our informant further tells us that only two workers, one gauging, one working the primers, are supposed to be in each primer hut; and that only two trays, each containing 200 primers, are supposed to be kept there. Nevertheless, from three to five or six workers are frequently engaged in a hut, whilst 20,000 to 50,000 primers may often be found there.

One of the most dangerous processes is instituted purely for the purpose of economising brass and powder—which are held to be more valuable, alas, than human beings. This consists in opening the rejected primers, and adding brass to brass and powder to powder, so that these commodities may be used again. For this purpose the brass disc on top of the primer is loosened by machinery, and then prized off by the worker with a brass instrument. In the friction thus set up lies the danger, for it may, and not infrequently does, cause the powder to explode. Young girls are employed at this work, which is one of the worst paid; it is not paid for as dangerous work. The women complain that—dangerous as it is—this particular operation is not for "the defence of England," but for "the defence of Vickers' pocket." In one of these explosions recently a girl became insane; many have been seriously injured. It is usually announced that the injuries are slight, but women visiting the hospital have found their companions unrecognisable. After one accident the girls refused to work on the rejected primers, and operations there ceased for a week. Then another set of ignorant young girls was brought in to carry it on in place of those who had bought their experience dearly.

Employees are forbidden to tell of the accidents which take place in their departments, and when an explosion occurs the first thing that is done is to snatch up the oily rags which are used for cleaning machinery, and to stuff them in the mouths of those who are injured to stifle their cries. Then the injured are carried to the first aid nurse, who is uncertificated, and who in a day often has to attend to 70 or more persons suffering from cuts, filings in the eye, or more serious injuries. The most serious cases are afterwards taken on to the hospital, where there are several nurses.

Another dangerous operation is that of mixing explosive powders, working them into a stiff paste with a brass tool. These mixtures sometimes explode spontaneously without being touched; the danger of mixing them will therefore be appreciated.

When the skin of the workers in T.N.T. becomes yellow, they are supposed to be moved to other employment. Since we see so many yellow-skinned women and girls in all parts of the country, we are not surprised to learn from our informant that the rule is not observed, and that some women have been refused a change of employment. We learn that the milk which is supposed to minimise the workers' risk of poisoning has only been supplied recently, and that masks are not provided for all the workers.

The making of instruments to kill our fellow-creatures is in any case a hideous and dangerous trade. When private firms are making profits out of it, it becomes still more detestable. Hence awful risks are necessarily attendant on the business; and these risks are enhanced by the greed of employers. Of employers and employees we ask: does it pay to join the Murder Trade?

Of Special Interest This Week!

Kaiser's Telegram.

The French War Aims.

The Murder Trade.

What Does the German Peace Note Mean?

THE KAISER'S ADVICE: WILL HE TAKE IT?

We call the attention of our readers to the following striking paragraphs, translated from the "Neue Zürcher Zeitung" ("Swiss Independent") of September 15th, 1917:—

"KAISER-TSAR CORRESPONDENCE."

"Telegram from Berlin, September 14th.—The 'Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung' has a fifth article on the exchange of telegrams between the German Emperor and the ex-Tsar. It says: Amongst the publications of our enemies re the Emperor's telegrams we draw attention to the telegram of August 20th, 1905, in which the Kaiser deals with the Russian Duma *and its influence upon the* peace negotiations with Japan. *The telegram runs verbatim as follows: 'My Ambassador has just reported that you have ordered the publication of a decree which deals with the convocation of the great Duma. The statutes are to be, in their essentials, analogous to those of our State Council, which will give it the character of a deliberative assembly. I ask you to accept my warmest congratulations for this great forward step in the development of Russia. I see from the newspapers that, on the whole, the peace negotiations are progressing satisfactorily, but that there are certain points which are obstacles to an agreement. Before you make your final decision for peace or for a continuation of the war—the latter would be of far-reaching consequences, results of which would be difficult to foresee, and would cost immeasurable sacrifices of men, blood and money—it would, it seems to me, be an excellent procedure if you were to put this question before the great Duma first. Since it represents the Russian people, its answer would be the answer of Russia. If it decides for Peace, you have been authorised by the people to conclude peace on the basis submitted to your delegates at Washington. If they, that is, Russia itself, consider its honour safeguarded, you can sheathe the sword with the noble words of Francis I., "All is lost, except honour." No one in your Army, in your country, or in the rest of the world, has a right to blame you for such an action. If, on the other hand, the Duma considers the proposals unacceptable, and the Japanese Government refuses to negotiate on another basis, then, again, it is Russia itself which requests you, its Emperor, through the voice of the Duma, to continue the fight. Thereby it would take the full responsibility for the consequences upon itself, and would save you before the world and before History from the reproach of having sacrificed thousands of patriotic sons without consulting the country, or even against their will. This will lend to your personal action great weight and strength, since you will feel supported by the will of your entire people, which is determined to fight to the bitter end, without shrinking from losses and privations. Only under such conditions could the war possibly be carried on. In your place I would not let this first and favourable opportunity slip by to get into close touch with the feelings and desires of your country as regards war and peace, by giving the Russian people the long-desired opportunity itself to decide its future or take part in such decision, as to which it has a positive right. You would likewise offer to the Duma a good opportunity to work, to show what it can do, and to demonstrate whether it fulfils the expectations which everybody has with regard to it. The decisions which are to be arrived at are in their consequences terribly grave, and so far-reaching that it is quite impossible for any mortal ruler to take the responsibility for them upon his own shoulders without the help and advice of his people. May God be with you. Do not forget the promotion of the line regiments besides that of the Guard.'*

"It is significant that our enemies have omitted to reproduce just this particular telegram in full, but have contented themselves with merely mentioning it. Its contents are apparently awkward, because it is so absolutely impossible to bring them into line with the assertion that the German monarchy is a refuge of anti-liberal and autocratic rule, despising the natural rights of the people. To us, this telegram seems to deserve special attention. We have seen how the English Foreign Secretary had made arrangements with foreign Powers, over the heads not only of the representatives of the people, but of his own immediate colleagues, which placed Great Britain before the choice either of appearing to break her word or to take part in this sanguinary war, for which the mass of the people had no inclination. We have seen how France, through its Government, which is formally democratic, but in its essence highly autocratic, has been pressed into the service of the saee war-like world policy to which it owed the quickly-forgotten humiliation of Fashoda, a policy which at all times has been imperialistic, and, in its final aims, war-like. We have seen, further, how the leading men of pseudo-democratic France have spurred on Tsarist Russia by military loans to ever stronger war preparations against Germany, whose aim was peace, and we have been able to convince ourselves by the revelations of the Russo-French secret treaty and the plans for the dismemberment of Turkey that the aims of this carefully-threaded war-policy, even in the third year of the sanguinary world-struggle, are not, indeed, defence, but additional power at the expense of foreign rights and foreign liberty."

THE LATEST WOMAN M.P.

The politics of Nurse Macadams, who has just been elected Member for Alberta, are scarcely mentioned. The fact that she is a woman is all that is supposed to count. That fact denotes a stage in the evolution of women in politics through which we hope soon to pass. Since the election of a number of women to the world's Parliaments will undoubtedly hasten the process, we welcome Miss Macadams' election. We wish that we might greet her as an International Socialist, but she announces that she is merely the nurses' candidate, and that her chief business is to attend to their interests. She might do worse!

STOP PRESS

Emerson Club meeting, Thursday, October 4th, and Bow Women's Hall meeting, October 1st, will be at **4.30** p.m. instead of times advertised.

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

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THE OUTLOOK

CENTRAL POWERS' REPLY TO POPE.

The German and Austrian replies to the Pope's Peace Call are better in general tone and atmosphere than any Note previously issued by any of the belligerent Powers. They contain not a single abusive or even reproachful word towards those whom the Austrian Note refers to as "our present enemies," as though to suggest that shortly those enemies will be friends. They admit that "in future, the moral force of right must take the place of the material force of arms" in the international field. They agree in principle to the simultaneous reduction of armaments on land, on sea, and in the air, and the reference of international disputes to compulsory arbitration. They also demand the freeing of the seas. This is a step in advance. In pre-War days, when Germany urged the freedom of the seas, Britain (as owner of the biggest Navy and controller of the principal straits and points of vantage on sea, and the possessor of only a small Army) resisted the proposal, declaring that it could only be assented to in conjunction with the limitation of armaments. Now Germany has assented to Britain's condition, what will Britain answer?

So far, the Notes of the Central Powers are a move towards Peace; but there they stop. They do not refer to the immediate objectives because of which the nations are wrangling. The German Note says:

"When the nations led by this spirit shall recognise that for their own benefit it is better to show a uniting than a separating tendency, they will succeed in regularising the few open points still in dispute."

Austria says:

"If the nations of the earth were to enter with a desire for peace into negotiations with one another in the sense of your Holiness' proposals, then peace could blossom forth from them."

But, whilst they wish to negotiate, to bring the rulers of the belligerent nations around a table to discuss matters, neither the Kaiser and his Government, nor the Emperor of Austria and his Government are yet willing to make public definite terms of Peace. The reason of this is, no doubt, two-fold. On the one hand, they do not want either to reveal to the workers the real objects of the War, or to allow the workers an opportunity of expressing their opinions thereon, opinions which might not be expressed by speeches and resolutions only. On the other hand, it is not thought wise to make the jingo capitalists aware of any concessions which the rulers of Germany and Austria may feel themselves compelled to make at the expense of the ambitions of those jingo capitalists who have various forceful methods of enforcing their desires. And again, before going further, both the German and Austrian Governments are undoubtedly waiting, in accordance with the rules of the international diplomatic game, for a conciliatory move from the Allies.

THE KAISER'S ADVICE TO THE CZAR.

As the very best way out of the impasse, we commend to the Kaiser the very sensible advice which he gave to the Czar during the Russo-Japanese War, a translation of which we publish on our front page. The Kaiser's advice was to refer to the elected representatives of the Russian people the decision whether to make peace or continue the war. Will the Kaiser and the other rulers and Governments of the belligerents adopt that course now?

The Kaiser might well set the example; he is supposed to be fond of taking the lead, and enlightened people in Germany are already protesting against the statement in the Note that the people stand behind the Kaiser in their desire for Peace. "The Muenchener Post" protests that "the people stand *before* the Kaiser." But it behoves us always to set our own house in order first, and it is our duty to press *our* Government to submit the Peace issue to the people of *this* country. By setting a good example we shall take the best means of inducing other peoples to follow. The Reichstag Peace Resolution gives reason to hope that the answer of the German Parliament would be for Peace on reasonable terms, though the National Liberals have now repudiated the Resolution. In all countries there has ceased to be any essential difference between Liberals and Tories, and German capitalists are as unwilling to sacrifice any prospect of advantage as any others.

But in this country capitalism has a greater hold upon the national life, and therefore, if the Peace issue were submitted to the British people their answer is doubtful. Nevertheless, we believe that a referendum ballot would show a majority for Peace. But the issue would be fiercely contested. The entire capitalist Press would range itself against Peace, striving by every conceivable artifice to terrorise the people into believing that it is unsafe to make Peace, and to stir up and play upon the least worthy passions of human nature, jealousy, hatred and pride, and the desire for domination and revenge. If Parliament were allowed to decide, the result is still more doubtful. So deeply coloured are the opinions of our workers by the capitalist Press, that in no country have they been more prone to elect their masters to represent them. In Russia the Socialists have secured a majority in the municipal elections; in Sweden the Socialists are winning so many seats in the Parliamentary elections that Branting, the Socialist leader, may become Prime Minister. But in this country the capitalists, who are gaining enormous profits out of the War, hold a large proportion of the seats in Parliament, and moreover, about one-sixth of the House is now in the direct service of the Government, and therefore a part of the War machine. Nevertheless, it would be an immense advantage to have the question of Peace or War submitted to Parliament, if possible together with all the secret treaties and understandings and all the other material facts bearing upon the issue. The decision of 670 elected persons arrived at in open debate, with every speech and every fact laid bare to the public, would more probably be in accordance with the people's wishes and interests than the decision made in secret by such men as Mr. Lloyd George, Lord Curzon, Lord Milner, Sir Edward Carson, Mr. Bonar Law and Mr. Barnes, whose voice, if he ever has the strength of will to raise it in opposition to his capitalist colleagues, undoubtedly is ignored. Whatever the decision might be, the fact that Parliament was actually deciding the Peace issue would set everyone thinking, and the published reports of the speeches would provide a much-needed education to millions of people who read what the newspapers say without exercising the critical faculty.

Because the newspapers call for it, poor haggard frightened people creeping out from their hiding places after the air raid is over say plaintively: "Our airmen ought to go straight to the heart of Berlin; that would stop it!" They do not reflect that air raids on London have not induced the British Government to refrain from sending air raiders to Germany, and even so far as Constantinople. Air raids on German towns are constantly taking place, and if Berlin is not chosen it is merely because the raiders find other towns more conveniently situated. To those who call for revenge for what they have suffered, and for the fears which unnerve them, we say: Have pity on your husbands, sons and brothers in the trenches, who are obliged to endure the bombardment, not for half an hour occasionally, but, with short intervals for rest, continuously month after month! They cannot go to the cellar or the tube station for shelter and buoy up their courage with special refreshment; they must endure a continuous and infinitely more terrible bombardment in the dismal and filthy trench, and if they flinch from what is required of them they will be shot for cowardice. If you care for the soldiers in the trenches, work as hard as you can to stop the War.

MYSTERIOUS RUSSIA.

From the confused and contradictory reports from Russia one fact giving cause for great satisfaction can be disentangled. It is that the Socialists who are variously called Bolshevicks, Maximalists and Leninites have secured a majority on the Council of Workers' and Soldiers' Delegates. The Maximalists are the International Socialists who recognise that this is a capitalist War and demand an immediate peace, and who desire to establish in Russia not a semi-Democratic Government and the capitalist system such as we have in England, but a Socialist State. They desire Socialism, not in some far away future, but in the immediate present. The Maximalists desire that the C.W.S.D. shall become the Government of Russia until the Elections for the Constituent Assembly have taken place. They urge that the continuance of the War forces Russia to depend for loans and War material upon the capitalist Governments of the Allies. They probably think, and very rightly, that the advantages accruing from Allied loans will be outweighed by War losses.

The alleged revelations concerning the Korniloff rebellion become daily more astonishing. It has been confidently asserted that his intention was to become dictator in order to secure a more vigorous prosecution of the War; that he desired to make Peace; that he desired to re-establish the Czardom; and that he had declared that the Czardom should only be re-established over his body. Now it is alleged that he was acting in conjunction with Kerepsky and his Government, the object being to place Petrograd and the nation under a military dictatorship in order to abolish the power of the C.W.S.D., the scheme being abandoned because the C.W.S.D. immediately took what promised to be effective steps to defend Petrograd. The C.W.S.D. councils of defence were thanked and ordered by Kerensky to disband after the arrest of Korniloff.

This version of the Korniloff rebellion at first sight seems too impossibly fantastic to be taken seriously; but some colour is lent to it by the still more curious version of the affair which comes from Washington via Exchange Telegraph. It is here asserted that:

"The Russian Embassy has absolved Korniloff from the blame of the uprising, and officially explains that this defection was due to a mutual misunderstanding between the two leaders. On the night of September 8th Vladimir Lvoff, a former member of the Duma, acting ostensibly as an emissary from Korniloff, appeared before Kerensky, stating that Korniloff demanded a dictatorship. Kerensky immediately requested confirmation from Korniloff, whom he rang up on the telephone. Korniloff, believing Kerensky referred to himself, answered in the affirmative, and the consequent revolt was the result of this mutual misunderstanding. The motives which prompted Lvoff are unknown."

If the statements made in this telegram are really authorised by the Russian Government, the story of collusion between Kerensky and Korniloff may quite possibly be true. Men do not make revolution by accident, and if Korniloff is to be absolved so easily, there must be some serious reason why. Our reading of the situation is that Korniloff has been absolved because he was supported by the sympathy, even the practical help, of persons possessing power with the Allied Governments. Sir George Buchanan, the British Ambassador in Petrograd, is one of these, and it is obvious that the "Morning Post," "The Times," and other great capitalist organs, are desirous of re-establishing the Czardom. Kerensky we believe to be deluded by the belief that the fortunes of Russia are dependent on an Allied victory. This belief causes his policy to be swayed by the Allied Governments and the jingo capitalists of Russia; but we think it unlikely that he has deliberately entered into a plot with Korniloff. We agree whole-heartedly with the Bolshevicks in their contention that the continuance of the War is the opportunity of the counter-revolutionaries. But all this applies in Britain equally with Russia. When will our people realise that essential fact?

REVELATIONS AND RUMOURS.

New American revelations of German spying and other discreditable methods are published almost daily. We would warn our readers that all news coming from America is highly coloured and deeply underlined. The spirit of America in her Departments of State, as well as in her newspapers, is the spirit of sensational journalism. At the same time we must regretfully admit that the diplomacy of all the world's Governments is very sordid. We desire to see it replaced by a better system erected on a basis of fraternal co-operation: not on a basis of competition and exploitation.

Peace rumours still continue: may they prove to be truly founded!

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

EDWARD, EDWARD

"Why does your brand sae drip wi' blude,
Edward, Edward?
Why does your brand sae drip wi' blude,
And why sae sad gang ye, O?"
"O, 'tis but the Tricolor's red sae gude,
Mither, mither;
O, 'tis but the Tricolor's red sae gude,
That I hae won for me, O."

"The Tricolor's self was ne'er sae red,
Edward, Edward;
The Tricolor's self was ne'er sae red,
My dear son, I tell thee, O."
"O, 'tis the blude of Russia's dead,
Mither, mither;
O, 'tis the blude of Russia's dead
That I would na let be free, O."

"O, Russia's dead were never your care,
Edward, Edward;
O, Russia's dead were never your care;
Some other dule ye dree, O."
"O, I hae slain my ain dear land,
Mither, mither;
And the blude of millions is on my brand,
Alas, and wae is me, O."

R. PALME DUTT.

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY

REVOLUTION IN BRITAIN

The "Times" is alarmed! It declares that "obscure revolutionaries have the Government and the nation by the throat." Refraining from advertising its title and authorship, it quotes from that very able pamphlet by Walton Newbold, "The Politics of Capitalism" (which may be obtained, by the way, at the W.S.F. shop, 85 Hoxton Street). It says: "Loyal and patriotic citizens can no longer afford to remain passive; they must study, think, organise; and (in the last resort) act." Act? Act how? Does Lord Northcliffe, pulling the strings of his grandfather clock from Printing House Square, desire to turn the machine guns on the British workers? Is this a sign that he is growing war-weary at last? Does it mean he is turning with longing thoughts to "The War at Home?" Does he want a war moving more quickly, affording more journalistic opportunities? Would he prefer to come to grips with an enemy whom he imagines may be more easily vanquished? But what is the "Times" calling loyal and patriotic citizens to fight against? According to its own statement, it calls them to battle against the establishment of a system under which those who work will organise work, and the products of their labour will be divided equally between them. But really, Grandfather, what is there wrong in that except from the point of greedy people who want more than their fair share.

BRITISH PRISONERS IN EAST AFRICA

The stories of alleged ill-treatment of British prisoners in German East Africa serve to make us still more impatient for the ending of the War. When the prisoners protested against their treatment the German commandant replied that "Prisoners have no rights." That precisely sums up the spirit in which everyone is treated by the military machine; why, even the Royal Warrant dealing with pensions to our disabled soldiers and sailors and their relatives says:—"Pensions are not granted as a right." The suggestion that British prestige has been injured because Britons have been given work which usually falls to the lot of Africans does not appeal to us, but we deeply sympathise with the genuine privations and hardships of all the prisoners.

THE VIRTUE OF THE VOTE

Sir Robert Borden is making a hard bid for the woman's vote in the Canadian elections; he promises, if returned to power, to enfranchise all British-born women and to open to women of foreign birth naturalisation, and with it enfranchisement; also to provide that a woman of British citizenship shall not lose her citizenship on marriage except by her own consent. When women gain the vote, the politicians grow desirous of conciliating them. Women have adult suffrage in part of Canada. When women voters cry "Peace," a peace champion will claim their votes.

SUGAR REGISTRATION.

Many correspondents inform us that they have refused to give the particulars as to their occupation and children's school, asked on the Sugar Registration Form, as they believe that these are desired for industrial conscription. Mrs. Beach writes:

"When I filled up our form I refused to fill in the occupation column and added a note asking the connection between the two. We are prepared to give up sugar if they refuse to give it without the occupation."

Keep on agitating!

* * * *

The "Daily Express" reports that women clerks employed by the Government are being asked to sign agreements not to leave their employment for four months after peace is signed, but it appears to be implied that the Government is under no obligation to retain the women for that period. Such agreements, in our opinion, should cut both ways. As compensation, the clerks who sign this agreement are to have a bonus of from 10s. to £1 for every month of service. That will be appreciated, but, as the wages paid to women clerks in Government Departments are usually below the average, the bonus is necessary in any case. The "Express" makes the astonishing statement that henceforth girl Government clerks under sixteen "will be obliged to attend night school regularly," that "they will be discouraged from learning shorthand and typewriting" (which would fit them to become skilled clerks), "but instead will be taught such practical womanly subjects as will fit them for a new creative life in other climes." In case the "Express" should be correctly informed, we enter our protest against compulsory evening classes for children under sixteen. Wage-earning during the day is at least as much compulsory work as the child physique should be called upon to bear. As for the object of the compulsory classes, the "Express" informs us that the Government "favours" the emigration of these girls to the Overseas Dominions. We must point out that this is a matter for the free decision of the girls and their parents.

FRANCE AND BELGIUM

The accuracy of the statements made by Mr. Conybeare in his letter to the DREADNOUGHT of September 1st being questioned, he adds the following further facts:—

Oxford, September 11th, 1917.

Dear Editor,—I based my surmise on the following facts—more than surmise it was not, and for obvious reasons cannot be.

It is acknowledged on all hands that M. Ribot and the Tsar (before he fell) negotiated a secret treaty. According to the German Chancellor Michaelis, "this treaty assured to France her borders of 1790 as extended by previous wars of conquest."

I do not ask anyone to trust the unsupported statement of the German statesman, but read the following from "Le Journal" of Paris of July 31st:—

"France has always declared plainly that her war aims imply logically the restoration of her lost provinces, the re-establishment of the frontier of 1790 and the necessary guarantees against German aggression."

The Royalist French organ, "L'Action Française," wrote on April 1st:—

"The idea of the Rhine gives us a clearly defined intellectual objective. We were almost alone two years ago in pointing out the ancient aim of the French State. Now everyone sees that we cannot go on multiplying our sacrifices without fixing some aim and a price, in the sphere of the eternal necessities of our native land and the permanent longings of our race."

Again, "Le Journal" wrote on August 3rd:—

"There has been a campaign in the country; in the winter of 1915-16 there was a distribution of postcards which described the left bank of the Rhine as a French possession of the future." The French Government, of course, connived at the distribution.

It is in the light of the above utterances that we must interpret the vague statement of Sir Edward Carson, a member of our War Council, that we will not negotiate with the Germans till they have retired across the Rhine. Now, anyone who glances at a historical atlas will see that, roughly, from 1790 to 1815 the whole of the Austrian Netherlands, as well as the German Palatinate, was French territory, and divided up into French departments. The Austrian Netherlands are to-day Belgium.

The "Echo de Paris" and other Paris journals have been proclaiming of late that after this war Belgium must be a vassal State of France under French military tutelage; and this is what Mr. Hervé means when he wrote in "La Victoire" of August 1st that "for the sake of protecting both France and Belgium, and to prevent too easy an invasion, we want to neutralise the left bank of the Rhine, and not allow there a single armed troop, a single gun. We want to see a new neutral Power, like Belgium, formed under the protection and guarantee of the European Powers." Neutralisation is an elastic term. Have we not lately "neutralised" Greece?

A Rhenish Republic is to be formed according to M. Driault's work entitled "Traditions Politiques de la France et les conditions de la Paix." This is to include all the lands south of the Rhine about as far as Cologne, and will contain 8,000,000 people who are German to the backbone. It is to be a French protectorate, and he expects that before fifty years are passed its inhabitants will realise "the advantage of being ranged under French laws." Any map shows that all the Eastern or Wallon provinces of Belgium would intervene between this "autonomous" French protectorate and France herself. Could the intervening territory by any possibility be left really autonomous? Of course not. Victor Cambon, in "La Victoire" of January 30th last, proposes that the South Rhine lands behind the eastern half of Belgium should be "formed into a new autonomous State, united to the Allies by preferential tariffs," and asks: "What could the Rhenish population find to complain of if we grant them far more favours than they deserve? Moreover, it is the price of the security of our frontiers." What, indeed?

I repeat that Germany cannot be mutilated on this stupendous scale without the intervening territory being also seized by France, and that territory is Belgian.

This policy is an old dream of French statesmen. Louis Napoleon, prior to 1870, arranged with Bismarck a scheme for the partition of Belgium, wrote it out in his own hand and stupidly entrusted it to the German who, in 1870, made capital out of it among ourselves. Mr. C. E. Vigoureux, in his striking work, "L'Avenir de l'Europe" (Paris, 1891), foretells that France, after crushing England and Germany with the aid of Russia, Italy, Portugal, Spain and Greece, will "seize the Rhine Provinces, Luxembourg and Belgium," "for," he adds, "the last two are secretly hostile to France, as is shown by the fact that the fortifications of Liège were designed by the German Staff, not against a German attack, but against a French."

When he wrote thus, France, under the influence of General Boulanger and M. Ribot, and in the heyday of rejoicing over her new alliance with Russia, was being flooded with maps of a Greater France which was to include Belgium and Geneva. The militarist novels of Danrit, so popular in France for many years before this War, in their forecast of the war of revanche assigned Belgium to France as part of her spoils. Thousands of other popular publications indulged in the same dream.

I do not desire to screen the appetites of the Pan-Germans, but I do desire to be just.—I am, etc., FRED. C. CONYBEARE.

UNDERFEEDING IN PRISON

The prison dietry was always meagre; it has now been reduced for all prisoners.

Writing from Stoughton Barracks of his experience in Wandsworth Prison, R. Meynell Pearson, a conscientious objector says:—

"During the first 11 weeks I got weaker and weaker with starvation until at the end of that time I had to fall out from the Wood Yard because I was so giddy. The doctor ordered me into hospital and said it was the vegetarian diet. The C.M.O. still would not give me enough to eat although after a week of even less diet I was given considerably more, though this even was still starvation . . . . "

Another letter says:—"I visited Harry Dormer last Saturday in Wandsworth. He spoke seriously of the starvation rations, he had been forced to give up physical exercises in his cell through failing strength, stated that many were in hospital . . . . "

A C.O. serving his third sentence writes:—

"A comrade often saved all his Saturday's food, except his breakfast gruel, until tea-time, so that he might enjoy a "good-meal." I myself have saved the bread that they give with dinner, until tea, or rather cocoa time, because what we get is insufficient."

* * * *

The Food Controller is publishing a magazine. Its object is to make us think that our food is, and will be, cheaper: but prices rise steadily. Official figures show an increase of 106 per cent. in the cost of living since July, 1914, and during the month of August the average of food prices rose by 2 per cent. in spite of Lord Rhondda!

A VISIT TO A GARDEN SUBURB

About a hundred W.S.F. members were the guests of the I.L.P. at the Garden Suburb, Golders Green. After a picnic lunch on the Heath Extension, the children played in the fields and the grown ups went to inspect the houses kindly thrown open to them by a number of comrades. Mrs. Fix, one of our Hackney members, now lives at Golders Green in a Barnett Trust Cottage Flat. Members were delighted to meet her again, and to find her so comfortably placed. The detached cottages such as that in which Mrs. Fix lives are divided into six flats, three up and three down. Each flat consists of a sitting-room, bed-room and combined kitchen, bath-room and scullery, and a lavatory. Each flat has two entrances, and at the rear is a comfortable porch for the downstairs flats and a balcony for the upstairs flats. Electric light is fitted, and there is a gas stove and coal cooking range, which heats the water for the bath and sink. The cottage stands in a delightful garden, and there is an allotment for each flat. Members were astonished to find that the rent of Mrs. Fix's charming flat was only 3s. 6d. a week. "You'd have to pay more than that for a room down our way! I wish I could get one like it!" was the general verdict as every feature was noted and admired. When Mrs. Fix took them across the garden to the washhouse and unlocked the door, displaying the fine white wash-basins and draining boards, one for each family, with the mangle for general use, there was a simultaneous exclamation: "This is better than Bow Baths!" Mrs. Savoy's face grew determined: "I want to live here. Couldn't I make brushes for the people and sell them? Is there a house to let?"

But then was revealed the big flaw in the Garden Suburb administration: incoming householders are expected to invest two years' rent in the undertaking. This condition is not always strictly adhered to, but there is said to be a tendency for the applicant who can come nearest to the regulation to have the preference when the houses of which the demand exceeds the supply come to be allocated. "I couldn't put down that amount of money," said Mrs. Savoy, and her hopes fell. Yet the originators of the Garden City project intended that it should be used for housing just such East End workers as Mrs. Savoy.

Passing from house to house, the visitors found that the rents and style of the houses varied considerably. One six-roomed house, with a combined kitchen, bath-room and scullery, cost only 12s. 6d. In this house was a gas boiler, in which the water could be boiled either for bathing or clothes washing. Many houses had fireplaces in their sitting-rooms which (though apparently quite the usual thing) could be adapted for use as cooking stoves. At the top of the fireplace, just where the hood of an open fireplace usually is, was a square oven. The back of the fireplace could be pulled down to fit close over the fire, with a hole in which to put the pan. In the course of our journeyings we learnt that many of the allotments are producing more than their owners could consume, and some kind friends suggested that some of the surplus produce should find its way to our headquarters at 400 Old Ford Road, E.

Tea was generously provided in the Institute by the I.L.P. Afterwards our Anarchist friends, the Wilkinsons, gave an original puppet show. Miss Joan Lawson delighted us by her charming dancing. Miss Agnes Macdonald recited, and several older friends sang and recited. Kindest of all, our Garden Suburb hosts drew us into the entertainment, and asked us to do what we could, and we volunteered eagerly to do our part. As Mary Carr said when she was asked to report on the outing to the general meeting last year: "They treated us like brothers."

REVIEW

"I APPEAL UNTO CAESAR": THE CASE OF THE CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR. By Mrs. Henry Hobhouse. With introduction by Professor Gilbert Murray and notes by the Earl of Selborne, Lord Parmoor, Lord Hugh Cecil, M.P., and Lord Henry Bentinck, M. P. Second Edition. 7¼ ins. by 4¾ ins., pp. XXII and 86. London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., Ruskin House, 40, Museum Street, W.C.1. Price 1s. net.

The first edition of this book was exhausted almost immediately after publication, and an almost equal demand can be predicted for the second. Yet I am not quite sure why the public like to read the book unless it enjoys being made ashamed of itself. For the book must make the public ashamed—ashamed that it has tolerated, in defiance of the plain meaning of the Military Service Acts, the abominable persecution of objectors to military service that has been taking place since these acts became law. Yet the public is not altogether to blame. The policy of throwing dust in its eyes has been adopted with no little success, and the idea has got abroad that the troublesome problem of the conscientious objector had been admirably solved by a beneficient government. No such problem would have arisen had the Military Service Acts been justly and fairly administered, and the fact is that the government has completely failed to solve it. Between 800 and 1,000 conscientious objectors are at present in prison—many of them men about whose conscientiousness there cannot be the shadow of a doubt. Mrs. Hobhouse tells stories of some of them—of what they have done for their fellow-men and how their fellow-men have repaid them. She does not share with them their convictions as to the immorality of War, but regarding this War as a War for liberty, she does not wish to see Liberty defiled and denied at home while she is fought for abroad. This attitude, I gather, is shared by the other writers, noted above, who have contributed to this book. Well! so be it—the fact perhaps may give the book a wider circulation and assist in the achievement of its object. But the clear statements of the anti-militarist position quoted by Mrs Hobhouse from the court-martial defences etc., of various well-known objectors, and the feeling that the book produces that the persecution of these men is an inevitable incident in the War and in accord with its spirit, cannot be without effect.

H. S. REDGROVE.

GLASGOW COUNCILLORS

The Miliary authorities in Glasgow seem determined that all the Pacifist Councillors in the city who are of military age will be dragooned into prison Already Councillors George Smith and P. J. Dollan have been imprisoned for refusing to obey military orders; and now Councillor E. Hinewell has had his exemption withdrawn and is to be called for service on October 17th. All these councillors are active Pacifists and members of the I.L.P. Six other councillors of military age who are supporters of the War have been exempted. Councillor Hinewell is the only permanent trade union official in the Clyde area to have his exemption withdrawn.

Deal with our Advertisers, and mention the "Dreadnought."

THE
WORKERS' SUFFRAGE FEDERATION

To secure a Vote for every Woman and Man of full age, and to win Social and Economic Freedom for the People on the basis of a Socialist Commonwealth.

Entrance Fee—1d.

Minimum Subscription—1d. a month.

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Hon. Assistant Secretary: Mrs. Minnie Lansbury.

Hon. Financial Secretary: Miss Norah Smyth.

Address Correspondence on:—
Meetings, to Mrs. Bouvier.
W.S.F. Branches, Miss P. Lynch.
"Dreadnought," Miss O'Callaghan.
Other Literature, Miss Bush.

The W.S.F. appeals for members and workers and invites friends to visit its offices and social institutions.

CENTRAL OFFICE: 400 Old Ford Road, London, E.3

THE MOTHERS' ARMS: 438 Old Ford Road, E.3 Mother and Doctor's Consultations and Baby Weighing, Mondays 2.30 p.m. Infant Clinic and Day Nursery, 8 a.m. to 7 p.m.

MONTESSORI SCHOOL: 10 a.m. to 2 p.m. (by appointment with Miss Muriel Matters) at the Mothers' Arms.

THE WOMEN'S HALL: 20 Railway Street (opposite South Bromley Station on the North London Railway) Mother and Infant Clinic, Doctor's Consultations and Baby Weighing, Mondays and Thursdays at 2.30 p.m. Cost Price Restaurant, &c.

53 ST. LEONARDS STREET, BROMLEY: Mother and Infant Clinic, Literature depot, &c. Doctors' Consultations and Baby Weighing, Friday 10.30 a.m.

COST PRICE RESTAURANT: 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.3, and 20 Railway Street, Poplar.

ST. STEPHEN'S SHOP: 85 Hoxton Street, off Old Street, off Shoreditch. Literature on Communism, Feminism, Internationalism, Socialism.

CO-OPERATIVE TOY INDUSTRY: By appointment with Miss Norah Smyth.

THE WORKERS' CHOIR: Applications for Membership to Mrs. Hercbergova, 45 Norman Road, E. Director & Conductor, Mr. Harold Cooper.

SOCIALIST SUNDAY SCHOOL: 20 Railway Street, Poplar. Sunday Afternoons, 3 p.m.

OUR FUNDS

Donations to be sent to the Hon. Financial Secretary, Miss N. L. Smyth, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.3
All parcels to 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.3

GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED

GENERAL FUND.—Miss Wood, £2 10s.; Irene, per Mrs. Drake (20s. weekly), £2; Mrs. Scurr, £1; Sale of fruit, £1; Mrs. Edith Lanchester (Peace), 8s. 6d.; Miss Cutten (monthly), 5s.; Sale of fruit, 2s. 6d.; Mrs. Fix, 1s. 3d.; Anon, 1s. COLLECTIONS.—Miss Lynch, 6s. 1½d.; Miss Vine, 3s. 6d.; Mrs. Bouvier, 2s.; Bow General Meeting, 1s. 7d.

"DREADNOUGHT" FUND.—Anon, Per F. C. Conybeare Esq., £5; C. A. Pease Esq., £3; Miss Bennett (Card), £1. 1s. 6d.; W Carter Esq. (Card), £1; Anon, (Card), £1; Miss Sarah Birch, £1; Miss Violet Causton, £1; Mrs. Branch, 11s.; Miss Janet Mardon, 5s.; J. Wilson Esq., 3s. 3d.; Miss Balchin, 2s. 3d.; Mr. and Mrs. Montague, 2s. 6d.; A. Mackinley Esq., 1s. 6d.

GUARANTEE FUND.——Previously acknowledged (Weekly), £2 7s. 3d.; New Guarantors, Mrs. Sanger (1s. weekly), £1 6s.; A Sheffield Working Woman (4s. monthly), 8s.; St. Pancras Branch (weekly), 5s.

MILK AND GENERAL DISTRESS.—Frank Welch Esq., £100; Miss Wood, £2 10s; per Miss Udny (monthly) £2 15s. 10d.; (Montessori), £2. 10s.; F. Swanzy Esq., Montessori, £2; G. T. Thorpe Esq., £2; C. E. Foster Esq., £1 1s.; Ed. Acton Esq., £1 1s.; C. H. Spafford Esq., £1; Mrs. Gillies (4s. monthly), 8s.; Miss F. M. Milling, 5s.; Miss E. M. Percival, 5s. Miss Schaub, 4s.; A Sheffield Working Woman, 2s. COLLECTIONS.—Miss Sheila Matthews, £1 8s. 6d.; Mrs. Walker, 15s. 4d. Misses Lagsding and Watts (Greens Yard), 12s.; Mothers' Arms Collecting Box, 4s. 5½d.; A. C. Powell Esq., 2s. 10d.

WHAT'S ON?

W.S.F. FIXTURES

OUTDOOR

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 28th.
Highbury Corner, 7 p.m., Mrs. Bouvier.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER, 29th.
Meetings 12, noon and 3 p.m. See "Great Push."

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 30th.
Osborn Street, Whitechapel, 11.30 a.m., Mrs. Walker.
"Salmon and Ball," 11.30 a.m., Mr. L. Hogben.
Victoria Park, 11.30 a.m., Mrs. Bouvier, Mrs Cressall
The Square Woolwich, 3 p.m., Mr. H. G. Russell.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 4th.
Cannon St. Road, 7.30 p.m., Ex-Inspector Syme.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 5th.
Armagh Rd., Bow, 3.30 p.m., Mrs. Cressall.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 6th.
Meetings 3 p.m. and 6 p.m. See "Great Push."

INDOOR

MONDAY, OCTOBER 1st.
53, St. Leonard's St., 2.30 p.m., Mrs. Cressall.
Bow Women's Hall, 8 p.m., Mrs. Hobhouse "Personality and Progress." Chair, Miss Pankhurst.
Co-operative Hall, 144 Seven Sisters Rd., Finsbury Park, 8 p.m., Mrs Bouvier.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 2nd.
Gravel Pit Hall, Valette St., Hackney, 7.30 p.m., Miss Smyth.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 4th.
St. Stephen's Shop, 85, Hoxton St., 8.30 p.m., Miss Sylvia Pankhurst.
Emerson Club, 19 Buckingham St., Strand, W.C., 7.30 p.m., Miss May O'Callaghan, "Independence or Colonial Home Rule for Ireland." Chair, Mr. Jim Connell.

LEEDS

LEEDS.—Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Hunter, 7 Sugdenfold, Armley. Branch meeting, Clarion Café, Tuesdays, 8 p.m. DREADNOUGHTS sold, 104.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS

Kingsley Hall, Sunday, September 30th, 8.15 p.m., Dr. Hodgkin will speak.

BRITISH DOMINIONS WOMAN SUFFRAGE UNION
LECTURES 1917-1918.
At Minerva Cafe, 144 High Holborn, W.C.
WOMAN AND REVOLUTION: TWO CENTURIES OF EUROPEAN HISTORY,
With special reference to Economic Problems.
Lecturer, MARGARET HODGE.
First Lecture, Monday, October 1st, at Three p.m.

Tickets for Part I. (ten lectures), 5s., from the Lecture Secretary, Minerva Cafe.

THE "HERALD" LEAGUE
A GRAND RE-UNION
And Welcome to George Lansbury at the Holborn and Concert Halls, Gray's Inn Road, W.C.,
SATURDAY, OCTOBER 6th, 1917
Dancing, Speaking, &c., from 6.30 p.m. to Midnight. Doors open 6.30 p.m
Mr. Percy Harvey's Band will be in attendance
M.C.s—F. C. HAGGAR and A. N. OTHER
SPEAKERS:—George Lansbury, Francis Meynell, Robert Williams, Evelyn Sharp, Bertrand Russell, W. P. Ryan, G. D. H. Cole, John Scurr and W. H. Harford. Tickets 1/- each from George Belt, 21 Tudor Street, E.C.4

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From the Secretary,
THE CHRISTIAN PEACE CRUSADE.
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FEDERATION NOTES

BIG PUSH.

Two meetings were held at the Grove Hammersmith on Saturday, the 22nd Sept. At the afternoon meeting Mrs. Bouvier dealt with Peace from the Russian point of view and met with a very cordial reception from a large crowd. In the evening there was at first a little opposition from a gentleman who had been in Germany at the outbreak of War and wished us to believe statements about the Russian and German mobilisation of troops which have since been proved to be incorrect. Ex-Inspector Syme dealt with these points and denounced capitalis twars. Mrs. Walker told some anecdotes of East-End life which met with a good reception. A collection was taken and a large number of "Dreadnoughts" and "Big Push" leaflets was sold. It is also probable that we shall soon start a branch in the district, as a supporter who was very much impressed by the meetings has offered a room for the purpose. Next Saturday the meetings will be held at Deptford.

PEACE PICKETS.

All those who wish to take part in the Church Peace pickets which will be held each Sunday afternoon in future are asked to send in their names to Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, 400, Old Ford Rd., Bow. Friends willing to help us to purchase new banners for use outside churches, should send contributions to Miss N. L. Smyth, 400, Old Ford Rd.

BRANCHES.

BOW.

All Bow members are asked to attend the Monday evening meetings at 400 Old Ford Rd. regularly and in good time as branch business will be transacted before the speeches start.

HACKNEY.

Hackney Branch meeting will be held on Oct. 2nd (Tuesday) 7.30 p.m. at Old Gravel Pit Hall, Valette St., Mare St., Miss N. L. Smyth will be the speaker. If all Hackney members could contribute a small regular sum weekly or monthly we would be able to hold these meetings weekly instead of monthly which would be very much better for the branch.

HOXTON.

A successful social was held at Hoxton on September 20th. The excellent programme arranged by Miss Sims and friends was thoroughly enjoyed. Miss Pankhurst made a speech on the present situation which was received with enthusiasm. Our best thanks are due to all who helped, especially to Miss Rayment for arranging for the selling of tickets and to Mrs. Sims and Mrs. Blake for looking after refreshments.

BULWELL.

Bulwell Branch is arranging to hold a big meeting once a month, Mr. George Lansbury and Miss Pankhurst have each promised a date.

MISCELLANEOUS ADVERTISEMENTS

FAMILY LIMITATION DOCTRINE. Post free, 1½d. —Malthusian League, Queen Anne's Chambers, Westminster.

SUFFRAGE WORKERS should spend their holidays at "Sea View," Victoria Road, Brighton. Hostess, Miss Turner.

SOUTHEND: Furnished Apartments, 8 minutes from sea and train; a Furnished House conveniently situated.—Apply "400" this Office.

TO LET—HALL for meetings, etc., holds 60. Terms moderate.—Apply Miss Beamish, St. Stephen's Shop, 85, Hoxton Street, N.

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WASTE AND WANT.

The weary tale of revelations on Army waste and mismanagement is always with us. Just now it is the "Daily Express" which is publishing stories of profiteering in Army boots, waste in Army Camps, and exorbitant prices charged to soldiers by Army Canteens. Our reply is stop the War—it is too big for any Government to manage, and establish Socialism, which will abolish all profiteering.

JOIN OUR GREAT PUSH FOR
PEACE! SOCIALISM! VOTES FOR ALL!

ORGANISED BY THE WORKERS' SUFFRAGE FEDERATION, 400 OLD FORD ROAD, E.3

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 29th, SOUTH EASTERN DISTRICT—(Joint with Peace Crusaders). Meet: 62 Manor Park, Lee, S.E (turning off Lee High Road, 10 minutes walk from Clock-tower, Lewisham) at 11.15 a.m. and 2.15 p.m.
Secretary for the day: MRS. BOUVIER, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow.
Meetings: 12 noon, and 3 p.m. Speakers: Mrs. BEST, Mrs. BOUVIER, Mrs. DRAKE, Mrs. WALKER, Mr. H. G. RUSSELL, Ex-Inspector SYME

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 6th, KENSAL RISE DISTRICT—(Joint with Peace Crusaders). Meet: 10 Milman Road, West Kilburn, 2.45 p.m. (No. 6 bus from Liverpool Street).
Secretary for the day: MRS. EDWARDS, 30 Clifford Gardens, Kensal Rise, N.W.
Meetings: 3 p.m. and 6 p.m. Speakers: Mrs. BEST, Mrs. BOUVIER, Miss LYNCH, Mrs. WALKER, Mr. H. G. RUSSELL.

Printed by the Blackfriars Press Ltd., 8 and 9 Johnson's Court, Fleet Street, E.C.4, and Published by the Workers' Suffrage Federation, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E3.

This pamphlet reproduces the contents of the Workers' Dreadnought of October 6th. Without approaching the editor or W.S.F. or giving any reason for their action, the authorities ordered the printer to destroy all copies of the paper and melt down the type.